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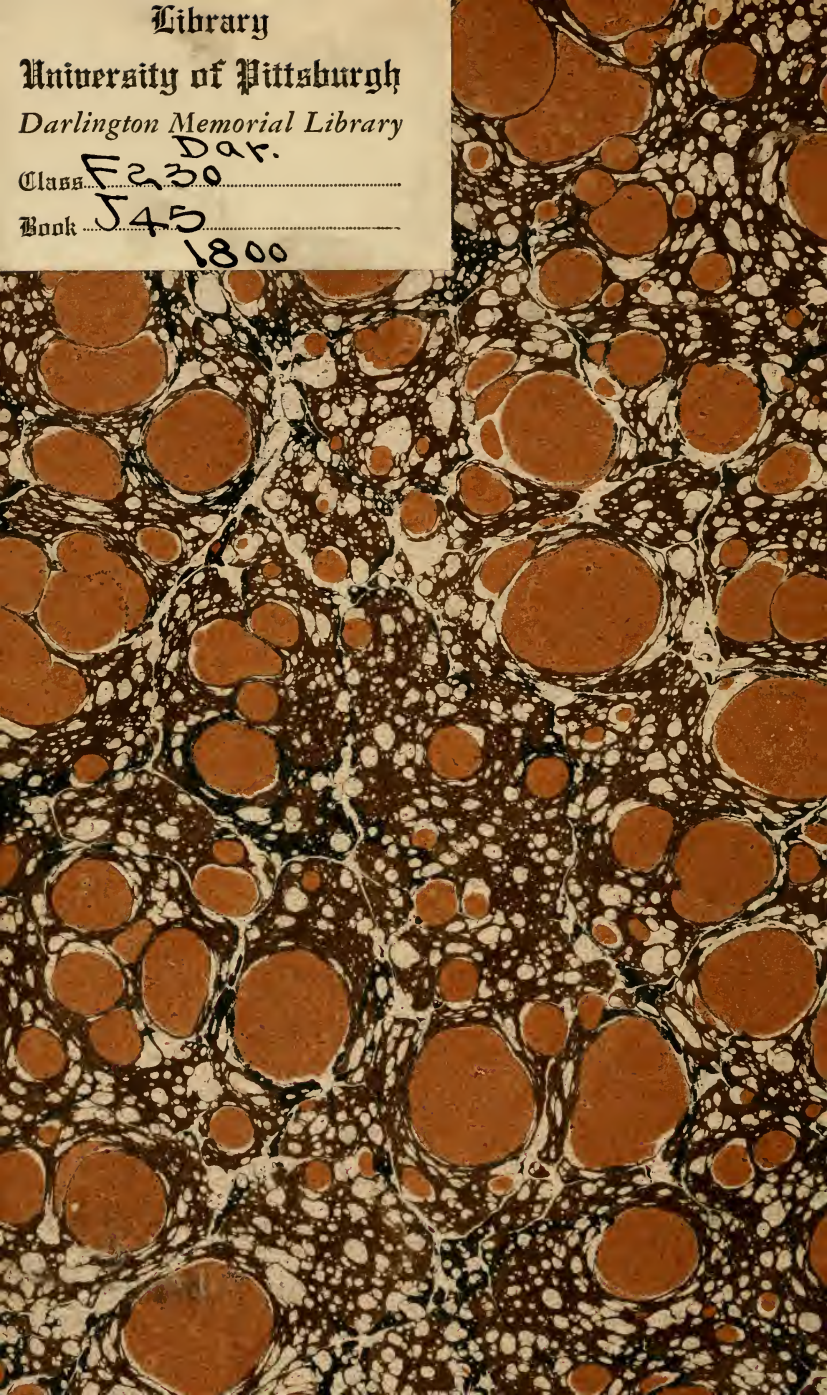

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AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

NOTES ON VIRGINIA

Relative to the Murder of Logan's Family.

By THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Pres. U.S.
1743-1826

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY SAMUEL H. SMITH.
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A Letter to Governor Henry, of Maryland.

Philadelphia, December 31ſt, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

MR. Tazewell has communicated to me the enquiries you have been ſo kind as to make, relative to a paſſage in the Notes on Virginia, which has lately excited ſome newſpaper publications. I feel, with great ſenſibility, the intereſt you take in this buſineſs, and with pleaſure, go into explanations with one whoſe objects I know to be truth and juſtice alone. Had Mr. Martin thought proper to ſuggeſt to me, that doubts might be entertained of the tranſaction reſpecting Logan, as ſtated in the Notes on Virginia, and to enquire on what grounds that ſtatement was founded, I ſhould have felt myſelf obliged by the enquiry, have informed him candidly of the grounds, and cordially have cooperated in every means of inveſtigating the fact, and correcting whatſoever in it ſhould be found to have been erroneous. But he choſe to ſtep at once into the newſpapers, and in his publications there and the letters he wrote to me, adopted a ſtyle which

which forbade the reſpect of an anſwer. Senſible, however, that no act of his could abſolve me from the juſtice due to others, as ſoon as I found that the ſtory of Logan could be doubted, I determined to enquire into it as accurately as the teſtimony remaining, after a lapſe of twenty odd years, would permit, and that the reſult ſhould be made known, either in the firſt new edition which ſhould be printed of the Notes on Virginia, or by publiſhing an appendix. I thought that ſo far as that work had contributed to impeach the memory of Creſap, by handing on an erroneous charge, it was proper it ſhould be made the vehicle of retribution. Not that I was at all the author of the injury. I had only concurred, with thouſands and thouſands of others, in believing a tranſaction on authority which merited reſpect. For the ſtory of Logan is only repeated in the Notes on Virginia, preciſely as it had been current for more than a dozen years before they were publiſhed. When Lord Dunmore returned from the expedition againſt the Indians, in 1774, he and his officers brought the ſpeech of Logan, and related the circumſtances connected with it. Theſe were ſo affecting, and the ſpeech itſelf ſo fine a morſel of eloquence, that it became the theme of every converſation, in Williamſburgh particularly, and generally, indeed, whereſoever any of the officers reſided or reſorted. I learned it in Williamſburgh; I believe at lord Dunmore's;

and

and I find in my pocket-book of that year (1774) an entry of the narrative, as taken from the mouth of ſome perſon, whoſe name, however, is not noted, nor recollected, preciſely in the words ſtated in the notes on Virginia. The ſpeech was publiſhed in the Virginia Gazette of that time (I have it myſelf in the volume of gazettes of that year) and though in a ſtyle by no means elegant, yet it was ſo admired, that it flew through all the public papers of the continent, and through the magazines and other periodical publications of Great Britain; and thoſe who were boys at that day will now atteſt, that the ſpeech of Logan uſed to be given them as a ſchool exerciſe for repetition. It was not till about thirteen or fourteen years after the newſpaper publications, that the Notes on Virginia were publiſhed in America. Combating, in theſe, the contumelious theory of certain European writers, whoſe celebrity gave currency and weight to their opinions, that our country, from the combined effects of ſoil and climate, degenerated animal nature, in the general, and particularly the moral faculties of man, I conſidered the ſpeech of Logan as an apt proof of the contrary, and uſed it as ſuch; and I copied, verbatim, the narrative I had taken down in 1774, and the ſpeech as it had been given us in a better tranſlation by lord Dunmore. I knew nothing of the Creſaps, and could not poſſibly have a motive

to

to do them an injury with deſign. I repeated what thouſands had done before, on as good authority as we have for moſt of the facts we learn through life, and ſuch as, to this moment, I have ſeen no reaſon to doubt. That any body queſtioned it, was never ſuſpected by me, till I ſaw the letter of Mr. Martin in the Baltimore paper. I endeavoured then to recollect who among my cotemporaries, of the ſame circle of ſociety, and conſequently of the ſame recollections, might ſtill be alive. Three and twenty years of death and diſperſion had left very few. I remembered, however, that general Gibſon was ſtill living, and knew that he had been the tranſlator of the ſpeech. I wrote to him immediately. He, in anſwer, declares to me, that he was the very perſon ſent by lord Dunmore to the Indian town; that, after he had delivered his meſſage there, Logan took him out to a neighbouring wood; ſat down with him, and rehearſing, with tears, the cataſtrophe of his family, gave him that ſpeech for lord Dunmore; that he carried it to lord Dunmore; tranſlated it for him; has turned to it in the Encyclopedia, as taken from the Notes on Virginia, and finds that it was his tranſlation I had uſed, with only two or three verbal variations of no importance. Theſe, I ſuppoſe, had ariſen in the courſe of ſucceſſive copies. I cite general Gibſon's letter by memory, not having it with me; but I am ſure I cite it ſubſtantially right. It eſtabliſhes unqueſtionably, that the ſpeech of Logan is genuine; and that being

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed, it is Logan himſelf who is author of all the important facts. "Colonel Creſap, "ſays he, in cold blood and uprovoked, murder- "ed all the relations of Logan, not ſparing even "my women and children. There runs not a drop "of my blood in the veins of any living creature." The perſon and the fact, in all its material circumſtances, are here given by Logan himſelf. General Gibſon, indeed, ſays, that the title was miſtaken; that Creſap was a captain, and not a colonel. This was Logan's miſtake. He alſo obſerves, that it was on the Ohio, and not on the Kanhaway itſelf, that his family was killed. This is an error which has crept into the traditionary account; but ſurely of little moment in the moral view of the ſubject. The material queſtion is; was Logan's family murdered, and by whom? That it was murdered has not, I believe, been denied; that it was by one of the Creſaps, Logan affirms. This is a queſtion which concerns the memories of Logan and Creſap; to the iſſue of which I am as indifferent as if I had never heard the name of either. I have begun and ſhall continue to enquire into the evidence additional to Logan's, on which the fact was founded. Little, indeed, can now be heard of, and that little diſperſed and diſtant. If it ſhall appear on enquiry, that Logan has been wrong in charging Creſap with the murder of his family, I will do juſtice to the memory of Creſap, as far as I have contributed to the injury, by believing and repeating what others had believed and repeated

before

before me. If, on the other hand, I find that Logan was right in his charge, I will vindicate, as far as my ſuffrage may go, the truth of a Chief, whoſe talents and misfortunes have attached to him the reſpect and commiſeration of the world.

I have gone, my dear Sir, into this lengthy detail to ſatisfy a mind, in the candour and rectitude of which I have the higheſt confidence. So far as you may incline to uſe the communication for rectifying the judgments of thoſe who are willing to ſee things truly as they are, you are free to uſe it. But I pray that no confidence which you may repoſe in any one, may induce you to let it go out of your hands, ſo as to get into a newſpaper. Againſt a conteſt in that field I am entirely decided. I feel extraordinary gratification, indeed, in addreſſing this letter to you, with whom ſhades of difference in political ſentiment have not prevented the interchange of good opinion, nor cut off the friendly offices of ſociety and good correſpondence. This political tolerance is the more valued by me, who conſider ſocial harmony as the firſt of human felicities, and the happieſt moments, thoſe which are given to the effuſions of the heart. Accept them ſincerely, I pray you, from one who has the honor to be, with ſentiments of high reſpect and attachment,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient

And moſt humble ſervant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THE Notes on Virginia were written, in Virginia, in the years 1781 and 1782, in anſwer to certain queries propoſed to me by Monſ. de Marbois, then ſecretary of the French legation in the United States; and a manuſcript copy was delivered to him. A few copies, with ſome additions, were afterwards, in 1784, printed in Paris, and given to particular friends. In ſpeaking of the animals of America, the theory of M. de Buffon, the Abbe Raynal, and others, preſented itſelf to conſideration. They have ſuppoſed that there is ſomething in the ſoil, climate and other circumſtances of America, which occaſions animal nature to degenerate, not excepting even the man, native or adoptive, phyſical or moral. This theory, ſo unfounded and degrading to one third of the globe, was called to the bar of fact and reaſon. Among other proofs adduced in contradiction of this hypotheſis, the ſpeech of Logan, an Indian chief, delivered to lord Dunmore in 1774, was produced, as a ſpecimen of the talents of the aboriginals of this country, and particularly of their eloquence; and it was believed that Europe had never produced any thing ſuperior to this morſel of eloquence. In order to

make it intelligible to the reader, the tranſaction, on which it was founded, was ſtated, as it had been generally related in America at the time, and as I had heard it myſelf, in the circle of lord Dunmore, and the officers who accompanied him: and the ſpeech itſelf was given as it had, ten years before the printing of that book, circulated in the newſpapers through all the then colonies, through the magazines of Great-Britain, and periodical publications of Europe. For three and twenty years it paſſed uncontradicted; nor was it ever ſuſpected that it even admitted contradiction. In 1797 however, for the firſt time. not only the whole tranſaction reſpecting Logan was affirmed in the public papers to be falſe, but the ſpeech itſelf ſuggeſted to be a forgery, and even a forgery of mine, to aid me in proving that the man of America was equal in body and in mind, to the man of Europe. But wherefore the forgery? Whether Logan's or mine, it would ſtill have been American. I ſhould indeed conſult my own fame if the ſuggeſtion, that this ſpeech is mine, were ſuffered to be believed. He would have a juſt right to be proud who could with truth claim that compoſition. But it is none of mine; and I yield it to whom it is due.

On ſeeing then that this tranſaction was brought into queſtion, I thought it my duty to make particular enquiry into its foundation. It was the more

my

my duty, as it was alledged that, by aſcribing to an individual therein named, a participation in the murder of Logan's family, I had done an injury to his character, which it had not deſerved. I had no knowledge perſonally of that individual. I had no reaſon to aim an injury at him. I only repeated what I had heard from others, and what thouſands had heard and believed as well as myſelf; and which no one indeed, till then, had been known to queſtion. Twenty three years had now elapſed, ſince the tranſaction took place. Many of thoſe acquainted with it were dead, and the living diſperſed to very diſtant parts of the earth. Few of them were even known to me. To thoſe however of whom I knew, I made application by letter; and ſome others, moved by a regard for truth and juſtice, were kind enough to come forward, of themſelves, with their teſtimony. Theſe fragments of evidence, the ſmall remains of a mighty maſs which time has conſumed, are here preſented to the public, in the form of letters, certificates, or affidavits, as they came to me. I have rejected none of theſe forms, nor required other ſolemnities from thoſe whoſe motives and characters were pledges of their truth. Hiſtorical tranſactions are deemed to be well vouched by the ſimple declarations of thoſe who have borne a part in them; and eſpecially of perſons having no intereſt to falſify or disfigure them. The world will now ſee whether they, or

I, have

I, have injured Creſap, by believing Logan's charge againſt him: and they will decide between Logan and Creſap, whether Creſap was innocent, and Logan a calumniator?

In order that the reader may have a clear conception of the tranſactions, to which the different parts of the following declarations refer, he muſt take notice that they eſtabliſh four different murders. 1. Of two Indians, a little above Wheeling. 2. Of others at Grave Creek, among whom were ſome of Logan's relations. 3. The maſſacre at Baker's bottom, on the Ohio, oppoſite the mouth of Yellow Creek, where were other relations of Logan. 4. Of thoſe killed at the ſame place, coming in canoes to the relief of their friends. I place the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, againſt certain paragraphs of the evidence, to indicate the particular murder to which the paragraph relates, and preſent alſo a ſmall ſketch or map of the principal ſcenes of theſe butcheries, for their more ready comprehenſion.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from the honourable Judge INNES *of Frankfort in Kentucky to* THOMAS JEFFERSON; *dated Kentucky, near Frankfort. March 2d,* 1799.

I recollect to have seen Logan's speech in 1775, in one of the public prints. That Logan conceived Cresap to be the author of the murder at Yellow Creek, it is in my power to give, perhaps, a more particular information, than any other person you can apply to.

In 1774 I lived in Fincastle county, now divided into Washington, Montgomery and part of Wythe. Being intimate in Col. Preston's family, I happened in July to be at his house, when an Express was sent to him as the County Lieut. requesting a guard of the militia to be ordered out for the protection of the inhabitants residing low down on the north fork of Holston river. The Express brought with him a War Club, and a note which was left tied to it at the house of one Robertson, whose family were cut off by the Indians, and gave rise for the application to Col. Preston, of which the following is a copy, then taken by me in my memorandum book.

" Captain Cresap,

What did you kill my people on Yellow Creek " for? The white people killed my kin, at Conef- " toga, a great while ago; and I thought nothing

" of

" of that. But you killed my kin again, on Yellow-
" Creek, and took my Couſin Priſoner. Then I
" thought I muſt kill too ; and I have been three
" times to war ſince ; but the Indians are not an-
" gry: only myſelf."

Captain JOHN LOGAN.

July 21ſt, 1774.

With great reſpect, I am, Dear Sir,
your moſt obedient ſervant,
HARRY INNES.

Allegeney County, ſs.
State of Pennſylvania.

Before me the Subſcriber, a juſtice of the peace in and for ſaid county, perſonally appeared John Gibſon, Eſquire, an aſſociate Judge of ſame county, who being duly ſworn depoſeth and ſaith that he traded with the Shawneſe and other tribes of Indians then ſettled on the Siota in the year 1773, and in the beginning of the year 1774, and that in the month of April of the ſame year, he left the ſame Indian towns, and came to this place, in order to procure ſome goods and proviſions, that he remained here only a few days, and then ſet out in company with a certain Alexander Blaine and M. Elliot by water to return to the towns on Siota, and that one evening as they were drifting in their Canoes near the Long Reach on the Ohio, they were hailed by a number of white

men

men on the South Weſt Shore, who requeſted them to put aſhore, as they had diſagreeable news to inform them of; that we then landed on ſhore; and found amongſt the party, a Major Angus M'Donald from Weſt Cheſter, a Doctor Woods from ſame place, and a party as they ſaid of 150 men. We then aſked the news. They informed us that ſome of the party who had been taken up, and improving lands near the Big Kanhawa river, had ſeen another party of white men, who informed them that they and ſome others had fell in with a party of Shawneſe, who had been hunting on the South Weſt ſide of the Ohio, that they had killed the whole of the Indian party, that and the others had gone acroſs the country to Cheat river with the horſes and plunder, the conſequence of which they apprehended would be an Indian War, and that they were flying away. On making enquiry of them when this murder ſhould have happened, we found that it muſt have been ſome conſiderable time before we left the Indian towns, and that there was not the ſmalleſt foundation for the report, as there was not a ſingle man of the Shawneſe, but what returned from hunting long before this ſhould have happened.

We then informed them that if they would agree to remain at the place we then were, one of us would go to Hock Hockung river with ſome of their

their party, where we ſhould find ſome of our people making Canoes, and that if we did not find them there, we might conclude that every thing was not right. Doctor Wood and another perſon then propoſed going with me ; the reſt of the party ſeemed to agree, but ſaid they would ſend and conſult captain Creſap who was about two miles from that place. They ſent off for him, and during the greateſt part of the night they behaved in the moſt diſorderly manner, threatening to kill us, and ſaying the damned traders were worſe than the Indians and ought to be killed. In the morning captain Michael Creſap come to the camp. I then gave him the information as above related. They then met in Council, and after an hour or more captain Creſap returned to me and informed that he could not prevail on them to adopt the propoſal I had made to them, that as he had a great regard for captain R. Callender, a brother in law of mine with whom I was connected in trade, he adviſed me by no means to think of proceeding any further, as he was convinced the preſent party would fall on and kill every Indian they met on the river, that for his part he ſhould not continue with them, but go right acroſs the country to Red-Stone to avoid the conſequences. That we then proceeded to Hocking and went up the ſame to the canoe place, where we found our people at work, and after ſome days we proceeded to the towns on

Siota

Siota by land. On our arrival there, we heard of the different murders committed by the party on their way up the Ohio.

This Deponent further ſaith that in the year 1774, he accompanied Lord Dunmore on the Expedition againſt the Shawneſe and other Indians on the Siota, that on their arrival within 15 Miles of the towns, they were met by a flag, and a white man of the name of Elliot, who informed Lord Dunmore that the Chiefs of the Shawneſe had ſent to requeſt his Lordſhip to halt his army and ſend in ſome perſon, who underſtood their language; that this Deponent, at the requeſt of Lord Dunmore and the whole of the officers with him, went in; that on his arrival at the towns, Logan, the Indian, came to where this deponent was ſitting with the Corn-Stalk, and the other chiefs of the Shawneſe, and aſked him to walk out with him; that they went into a copſe of wood, where they ſat down, when Logan, after ſhedding abundance of tears, delivered to him the ſpeech, nearly as related by Mr. Jefferſon in his notes on the State of Virginia; that he the Deponent told him then that it was not Col. Creſſap who had murdered his relations, and that although his ſon captain Michael Creſſap was with the party who killed a Shawneſe chief and other Indians, yet he was not preſent when his relations were killed at

Bakers, near the mouth of Yellow Creek on the Ohio; that this Deponent on his return to camp delivered the ſpeech to Lord Dunmore; and that the murders perpetrated as above were conſidered as ultimately the cauſe of the War of 1774, commonly called Creſſap's war.

Sworn and ſubſcribed the 4th April, 1800, at Pittſburg, before me, } *JOHN GIBSON.*

JER. BARKER.

Extract of a letter from Col. EBENZER ZANE, to the honourable JOHN BROWN, one of the Senators in Congreſs from Kentucky; dated Wheeling, Feb. 4th, 1800.

I was myſelf, with many others, in the practice of making improvements on lands upon the Ohio, for the purpoſe of acquiring rights to the ſame. Being on the Ohio at the mouth of Sandy Creek, in company with many others, news circulated that the Indians had robbed ſome of the Land jobbers. This news induced the people generally to aſcend the Ohio. I was among the number. On our arrival at the Wheeling, being informed that there were two Indians with ſome traders near and above Wheeling, a propoſition was made by the then captain Michael Creſap to way lay and kill the Indians upon the river. This meaſure I oppoſed with much violence, alledging that the killing of thoſe Indians might involve the country in a war. But the oppoſite party prevailed, and proceeded up the Ohio with captain Creſap at their head. In

In a ſhort time the party returned, and alſo the traders, in a canoe; but there were no Indians in the company. I enquired what had become of the Indians, and was informed by the traders and Creſap's party that they had fallen overboard. I examined the canoe, and ſaw much freſh blood and ſome bullet holes in the canoe. This fully convinced me that the party had killed the two Indians, and thrown them into the river.

2 On the afternoon of the day this action happened, a report prevailed that there was a camp, or party of Indians on the Ohio below and near the Wheeling. In conſequence of this information, captain Creſap with his party, joined by a number of recruits, proceeded immediately down the Ohio for the purpoſe, as was then generally underſtood, of deſtroying the Indians above mentioned. On the ſucceeding day, captain Creſap and his party returned to Wheeling, and it was generally reported by the party that they had killed a number of Indians. Of the truth of this report I had no doubt, as one of Creſap's party was badly wounded, and the party had a freſh ſcalp, and a quantity of property, which they called Indian plunder. At the time of the laſt mentioned tranſaction, it was generally reported that the party of Indians down the Ohio were Logan and his family; but I have reaſon to believe that this report was unfounded.

3 Within a few days after the tranſaction above mentioned,

mentioned, a party of Indians were killed at Yellow Creek. But I muſt do the memory of captain Creſap the juſtice to ſay that I do not believe that he was preſent at the killing of the Indians at Yellow Creek. But there is not the leaſt doubt in my mind, that the maſſacre at Yellow Creek was brought on by the two tranſactions firſt ſtated.

All the transactions, which I have related happened in the latter end of April 1774 : and there can ſcarcely be a doubt that they were the cauſe of the war which immediately followed, commonly called Dunmore's War.

I am with much Eſteem,

Yours, &c.

EBENEZER ZANE.

The Certificate of WILLIAM HUSTON of Waſhington county, in the ſtate of Pennſylvania, communicated by DAVID RIDDICK, Eſquire, Prothonotary of Waſhington county, Pennſylvania ; who in the letter incloſing it ſays "Mr. *WILLIAM HUSTON is a man of eſtabliſhed reputation in point of Integrity.*"

I WILLIAM HUSTON of Waſhington county, in the State of Pennſylvania, do hereby certify to whom it may concern, that in the year 1774 I reſided at Catfiſhes camp, on the main path from Wheeling to Redſtone : that Michael Creſap, who reſided on or near the Potowmac river, on his

his way up from the river Ohio, at the head of a party of armed men, lay ſome time at my cabbin.

2 I had previouſly heard the report of Mr. Creſap having killed ſome Indians, ſaid to be the relations of "Logan" an Indian Chief. In a variety of converſations with ſeveral of Creſap's party, they boaſted of the deed; and that in the preſence of their chief. They acknowledged they had fired firſt on the Indians. They had with them one man on a litter, who was in the ſkirmiſh.

I do further certify that, from what I learned from the party themſelves, I then formed the opinion, and have not had any reaſon to change the opinion ſince, that the killing, on the part of

3 the whites, was what I deem the groſſeſt murder. I further certify that ſome of the party, who afterwards killed ſome women and other Indians at Baker's Bottom, alſo lay at my cabbin, on their march to the interior part of the country; they had with them a little girl, whoſe life had been ſpared by the interference of ſome more humane than the reſt. If neceſſary I will make affidavit to the above to be true. Certified at Waſhington, this 18th day of April, Anno Domini, 1798.

WILLIAM HUSTON.

The

The Certificate of JACOB NEWLAND, *of Shelby County, Kentucky, communicated by the Honorable Judge Innes, of Kentucky.*

In the year 1774, I lived on the waters of Short Creek, a branch of the Ohio, 12 miles above Wheeling. Sometime in June or July of that year, capt. Michael Creſap raiſed a party of men, and came out under col. M'Daniel, of Hampſhire County, Virginia, who commanded a detachment againſt the Wappotommaka towns on the Muſkinghum. I met with capt. Creſap, at Redſtone fort, and entered his company. Being very well acquainted with him, we converſed freely; and he, among other converſations, informed me ſeveral
2 times of falling in with ſome Indians on the Ohio ſome diſtance below the mouth of Yellow Creek, and killed two or three of them; and
3 that this murder was before that of the Indians by Great-houſe and others, at Yellow Creek. I do not recollect the reaſon which capt. Creſap aſſigned for committing the act, but never underſtood that the Indians gave any offence. Certified under my hand this 15th day of November, 1799, being an inhabitant of Shelby county, and State of Kentucky.

JACOB NEWLAND.

The

The Certificate of JOHN ANDERSON, *a merchant in Frederickſburg, Virginia; communicated by Mann Page, Eſq. of Mansfield, near Frederickſburg, who, in the letter accompanying it, ſays,* "*Mr. John Anderſon has for many years paſt been ſettled in Frederickſburg, in the mercantile line. I have known him in proſperous and adverſe ſituations. He has always ſhewn the greateſt degree of Equanimity, his honeſty and veracity are unimpeachable. Theſe things can be atteſted by all the reſpectable part of the town and neighborhood of Frederickſburg.*"

Mr. John Anderſon, a merchant in Frederickſburg, ſays, that in the year 1774, being a trader in the Indian country, he was at Pittſburg, to which place he had a cargo brought up the river in a boat navigated by a Delaware Indian and a white man. That on their return down
1 the river, with a cargo, belonging to Meſſrs. Butler, Michael Creſap fired on the boat, and killed the Indian, after which two men of the name
3 of Gatewood and others of the name of * Tumbleſtone, who lived on the oppoſite ſide of the river from the Indians, with whom they were on the moſt friendly terms, invited a party of them to come over and drink with them; and that, when the Indians were drunk, they murdered them to the
4 number of ſix, among whom was Logan's mother. That five other Indians uneaſy at the abſence of their friends, came over the river to enquire after them; when they were fired upon, and two were

* The popular pronunciation of Tomlinſon, which was the real name.

were killed, and the others wounded. This was the origin of the war.

I certify the above to be true to the beſt of my recollection.

JOHN ANDERSON.

Atteſt.

DAVID BLAIR, 30th June 1798.

The Depoſition of JAMES CHAMBERS, *communicated by David Riddick, Eſq. Prothonotary of Waſhington County, Pennſylvania, who in the letter encloſing it ſhews that he entertains the moſt perfect confidence in the truth of* MR. CHAMBERS.

Waſhington County, ſc.

Perſonally came before me Samuel Shannon, Eſq. one of the Commonwealth juſtices for the County of Waſhington in the ſtate of Pennſylvania, James Chambers, who being ſworn according to law, depoſeth and ſaith that in the ſpring of the year 1774, he reſided on the frontiers near Baker's bottom on the Ohio: that he had an intimate companion, with whom he ſome-
2 times lived, named "Edward King:" That a report reached him that Michael Creſap had killed ſome Indians near Grave Creek, friends to an
3 Indian, known by the name of "Logan:" That other of his friends, following down the river, having received intelligence, and fearing to proceed, leſt Creſap might fall in with them, encamped near the mouth of Yellow Creek, oppoſite Baker's

Baker's bottom ; that Daniel Great-houſe had determined to kill them; had made the ſecret known to the deponent's companion, King ; that the deponent was earneſtly ſolicited to be of the party, and, as an inducement, was told that they would get a great deal of plunder ; and further, that the Indians would be made drunk by Baker, and that little danger would follow the expedition. The deponent refuſed to have any hand in killing unoffending people. His companion, King, went with Great-houſe, with divers others, ſome of whom had been collected at a conſiderable diſtance under an idea that Joſhua Baker's family was in danger from the Indians, as war had been commenced between Creſap and them already ; that Edward King, as well as others of the party, did not conceal from the deponent the moſt minute circumſtances of this affair ; they informed him that Great-houſe, concealing his people, went over to the Indian encampments and counted their number, and found that they were too large a party to attack with his ſtrength ; that he then requeſted Joſhua Baker, when any of them came to his houſe, (which they had been in the habit of) to give them what rum they could drink, and to let him know when they were in a proper train, and that he would then fall on them ; that accordingly they found ſeveral men and wo-

men at Baker's houſe; that one of theſe women had cautioned Great-houſe, when over in the Indian camp, that he had better return home, as the Indian men were drinking, and that having heard of Creſap's attack on their relations down the river, they were angry, and, in a friendly manner, told him to go home. Great-houſe, with his party, fell on them, and killed all except a little girl, which the deponent ſaw with the party after the ſlaughter: that the Indians in the
4 camp hearing the firing, manned two canoes, ſuppoſing their friends at Baker's to be attacked, as was ſuppoſed: the party under Great-houſe prevented their landing by a well directed fire, which did execution in the canoes: that Edward King ſhewed the deponent one of the ſcalps.---The deponent further ſaith, that the ſettlements near the river broke up, and he the deponent immediately repaired to Catfiſh's camp, and lived ſome time with mr. William Huſton: that not long after his arrival, Creſap, with his party, returning from the Ohio, came to Mr. Huſton's and tarried ſome time: that in various converſations with the party, and in particular with a Mr.
2 Smith, who had one arm only, he was told that the Indians were acknowledged and known to be Logan's friends which they had killed, and that

he

he heard the party say, that Logan would probably avenge their deaths.

They acknowledged that the Indians paſſed Creſap's encampment on the bank of the river in a peaceable manner, and encamped below him; that they went down and fired on the Indians, and killed ſeveral; that the ſurvivors flew to their arms and fired on Creſap, and wounded one man, whom the deponent ſaw carried on a
2 litter by the party; that the Indians killed by
3 Creſap were not only Logan's relations, but of the women killed at Baker's, one was ſaid and generally believed to be Logan's ſiſter. The deponent further ſaith, that on the relation of the attack by Creſap on the unoffending Indians, he exclaimed in their hearing, that it was an atrocious murder: on which Mr. Smith threatened the deponent with the tomahawk; ſo that he was obliged to be cautious, fearing an injury, as the party appeared to have loſt, in a great degree, ſentiments of humanity as well as the effects of civilization. Sworn and ſubſcribed at Waſhington, the 20th day of April, anno Domini 1798.

JAMES CHAMBERS.

Before Samuel Shannon.

Waſhington County, ſc.

SEAL. I, David Reddick, prothonotary of the court of common pleas, for the county

of Waſhington, in the ſtate of Pennſylvania, do certify, that Samuel Shannon, eſq. before whom the within affidavit was made, was, at the time thereof, and ſtill is, a juſtice of the peace in and for the county of Waſhington aforeſaid; and that full credit is due to all his judicial acts as ſuch as well in courts of juſtice as thereout.

In teſtimony whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand and affixed the ſeal of my office at Waſhington, the 26th day of April, anno Dom. 1798.

DAVID REDDICK.

The Certificate of CHARLES POLKE, *of Shelby county, in Kentucky, communicated by the hon. Judge Innes, of Kentucky, who in the letter incloſing it, together with Newland's certificate, and his own declaration of the information given him by Baker, ſays, "I am well acquainted with Jacob Newland, he is a man of integrity. Charles Polke and Joſhua Baker both ſupport reſpectable characters."*

About the latter end of April or beginning of May 1774, I lived on the waters of Croſs creek, about 16 miles from Joſhua Baker, who lived on the Ohio, oppoſite the mouth of Yellow creek. A
3 number of perſons collected at my houſe, and proceeded to the ſaid Baker's and murdered ſeveral Indians, among whom was a woman ſaid to be the ſiſter of the Indian chief, Logan. The principal leader of the party was Daniel Great-houſe. To

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the beſt of my recollection the cauſe which gave riſe to the murder was, a general idea that the Indians were meditating an attack on the frontiers. Capt. Michael Creſap was not of the party; but I recollect that ſome time before the perpetration of the above fact it was currently reported that capt.
2 Creſap had murdered ſome Indians on the Ohio, one or two, ſome diſtance below Wheeling.

Certified by me, an inhabitant of Shelby county and ſtate of Kentucky, this 15th day of November, 1799.

CHARLES POLKE.

The declaration of the hon. JUDGE INNES, *of Frankfort, in Kentucky.*

On the 14th of November, 1799, I accidentally met upon the road Joſhua Baker, the perſon referred to in the certificate ſigned by Polke, who
3 informed me that the murder of the Indians in 1774, oppoſite the mouth of Yellow creek, was perpetrated at his houſe by 32 men, led on by Daniel Great-houſe; that 12 were killed and 6 or 8 wounded; among the ſlain was a ſiſter and other relations of the Indian chief Logan. Baker ſays captain Michael Creſap was not of the party; that ſome days preceding the murder at his houſe two
1 Indians left him and were on their way home; that they fell in with capt. Creſap and a party of land improvers on the Ohio, and were murdered, if

not

not by Creſap himſelf, with his approbation ; he being the leader of the party, and that he had this information from Creſap.

HARRY INNES.

The declaration of WILLIAM ROBINSON.

William Robinſon, of Clarkſburg, in the county of Harriſon, and ſtate of Virginia, ſubſcriber to theſe preſents, declares that he was, in the year 1774, a reſident on the weſt fork of Monongahela river, in the county then called Weſt Auguſta, and being in his field on the 12th of July, with two other men, they were ſurpriſed by a party of eight Indians, who ſhot down one of the others and made himſelf and the remaining one priſoners ; this ſubſcriber's wife and four children having been previouſly conveyed by him for ſafety to a fort about 24 miles off ; that the principal Indian of the party which took them was captain Logan ; that Logan ſpoke Engliſh well, and very ſoon manifeſted a friendly diſpoſition to this ſubſcriber, and told him to be of good heart, that he would not be killed, but muſt go with him to his town, where he would probably be adopted in ſome of their families ; but above all things that he muſt not attempt to run away ; that in the courſe of the journey to the Indian town he generally endeavoured to keep cloſe to Logan, who had a great deal of converſation with him, always encouraging him to

be

be chearful and without fear; for that he would not be killed, but ſhould become one of them; and conſtantly impreſſing on him not to attempt to run away; that in theſe converſations he always charged capt. Michael Creſap with the murder of his family: that on his arrival in the town, which was on the 18th of July, he was tied to a ſtake, and a great debate aroſe whether he ſhould not be burnt; Logan inſiſting on having him adopted, while others contended to burn him: that at length Logan prevailed, tied a belt of wampum round him as the mark of adoption, looſed him from the poſt and carried him to the cabin of an old ſquaw, where Logan pointed out a perſon who he ſaid was this ſubſcriber's couſin; and he afterwards underſtood that the old woman was his aunt, and two others his brothers, and that he now ſtood in the place of a warrior of the family who had been killed at Yellow creek: that about three days after this Logan brought him a piece of paper, and told him he muſt write a letter for him, which he meant to carry and leave in ſome houſe where he ſhould kill ſomebody: that he made ink with gunpowder, and the ſubſcriber proceeded to write the letter by his direction, addreſſing captain Michael Creſap in it, and that the purport of it was, to aſk "why he had killed his people? That ſome time before they had killed his people at ſome

place

place (the name of which the ſubſcriber forgets) which he had forgiven ; but ſince that he had killed his people again at Yellow creek, and taken his couſin, a little girl, priſoner ; that therefore he muſt war againſt the whites ; but that he would exchange the ſubſcriber for his couſin." And ſigned it with Logan's name, which letter Logan took and ſet out again to war ; and the contents of this letter, as recited by the ſubſcriber, calling to mind, that ſtated by Judge Innes to have been left, tied to a war club, in a houſe, where a family was murdered, and that being read to the ſubſcriber, he recogniſes it, and declares he verily believes it to have been the identical letter which he wrote, and ſuppoſes he was miſtaken in ſtating as he has done before from memory, that the offer of the exchange was propoſed in the letter ; that it is probable it was only promiſed him by Logan, but not put in the letter ; that while he was with the old woman, ſhe repeatedly endeavored to make him ſenſible that ſhe had
3 been of the party at Yellow Creek, and, by ſigns, ſhewed how they decoyed her friends over the river to drink, and when they were reeling and tumbling about, tomahawked them all, and that whenever ſhe entered on this ſubject ſhe was thrown into the moſt violent agitations, and that he afterwards underſtood that, amongſt the Indians killed

at

at Yellow Creek, was a ſiſter of Logan, very big with child, whom they ripped open, and ſtuck on a pole: that he continued with the Indians till the month of November, when he was releaſed in conſequence of the peace made by them with Lord Dunmore: that, while he remained with them, the Indians in general were very kind to him; and eſpecially thoſe who were his adopted relations; but above all, the old woman and family in which he lived, who ſerved him with every thing in their power, and never aſked, or even ſuffered him to do any labour, ſeeming in truth to conſider and reſpect him, as the friend they had loſt. All which ſeveral matters and things, ſo far as they are ſtated to be of his own knowledge, this ſubſcriber ſolemnly declares to be true, and ſo far as they are ſtated on information from others, he believes them to be true. Given and declared under his hand at Philadelphia, this 28th day of February, 1800.

WILLIAM ROBINSON.

The depoſition of Col. William M'Kee, of Lincoln County, Kentucky, communicated by the hon. John Brown, one of the Senators in Congreſs from Kentucky.

Colonel William M'Kee of Lincoln County declareth, that in autumn 1774, he commanded as a captain in the Bottetourt Regiment under col. Andrew Lewis, afterwards Gen. Lewis; and

fought in the battle at the mouth of Kanhawa, on the 10th of October in that year. That after the battle, col. Lewis marched the militia acroſs the Ohio, and proceeded towards the Shawnee Towns on Sciota; but before they reached the Towns, Lord Dunmore, who was commander in chief of the army, and had, with a large part thereof, been up the Ohio about Hockhockin, when the battle was fought, overtook the militia, and informed them of his having ſince the battle concluded a Treaty with the Indians; upon which the whole army returned.

And the ſaid William declareth that, on the evening of that day on which the junction of the troops took place, he was in company with Lord Dunmore and ſeveral of his officers, and alſo converſed with ſeveral who had been with Lord Dunmore at the Treaty; ſaid William, on that evening, heard repeated converſations concerning an extraordinary ſpeech made at the Treaty, or ſent there by a chieftain of the Indians named Logan, and heard ſeveral attemps at a rehearſal of it. The ſpeech as rehearſed excited the particular attention of ſaid William, and the moſt ſtriking members of it were impreſſed on his memory.

And he declares that when Thomas Jefferſon's notes on Virginia were publiſhed, and he came to peruſe

peruſe the ſame, he was ſtruck with the ſpeech of Logan as there ſet forth, as being ſubſtantially the ſame, and accordant with the Speech he heard rehearſed in the camp as aforeſaid.

Signed,

WILLIAM M'KEE.

DANVILLE, December 18th, 1799.

We certify that Col. William M'Kee this day ſigned the original certificate, of which the foregoing is a true copy, in our preſence.

JAMES SPEED, Jun.
J. H. DEWEES.

The Certificate of the Honorable STEVENS THOMPSON MASON, one of the Senators in Congreſs from the State of Virginia.

"LOGAN'S ſpeech, delivered at the Treaty, after the Battle in which Col. LEWIS was killed in 1774."

[Here follows a copy of the ſpeech agreeing verbatim with that printed in Dixon and Hunter's Virginia Gazette of February 4, 1775, under the Williamsburg head. At the foot is this certificate.]

"The foregoing is a copy taken by me, when a boy, at ſchool, in the year 1775, or at fartheſt

in

in 1776, and lately found in an old pocket-book, containing papers and manuſcripts of that period.]

STEVENS THOMPSON MASON.

January 20th, 1798.

A copy of LOGAN'S ſpeech given by the late General MERCER, who fell in the battle of Trenton, January 1776, to LEWIS WILLIS, *Eſquire, of Frederickſburg, in Virginia, upwards of 20 years ago, (from the date of February 1798,) communicated through MANN PAGE, Eſquire.*

" The SPEECH of LOGAN, a Shawaneſe chief, to Lord Dunmore."

[Here follows a copy of the ſpeech, agreeing verbatim with that in the Notes on Virginia.]

A Copy of LOGAN'S SPEECH from the Notes on Virginia having been ſent to captain ANDREW RODGERS of Kentucky, he ſubjoined the follow-lowing certificate.

In the year 1774 I was out with the Virginia Volunteers, and was in the battle at the mouth of Canhawee, and afterwards proceeded over the Ohio to the Indian Towns. I did not hear Logan make the above ſpeech; but, from the unanimous accounts of thoſe in camp, I have reaſon to think that ſaid ſpeech was delivered to Dunmore. I remember to have heard the very things contained in the above ſpeech, related by ſome of our people in camp at that time.

ANDREW RODGERS.

The

The declaration of MR. JOHN HECKEWELDER, *for several years a miſſionary from the ſociety of Moravians, among the weſtern Indians.*

In the ſpring of the year 1774, at a time when the interior part of the Indian country all ſeemed peace and tranquil, the Villagers on the Muſkingum were ſuddenly alarmed by two Runners (Indians,) who reported "that the Big Knife, (Virginians) had attacked the Mingoe ſettlement, on the Chio, and butchered even the women with their children in their arms, and that Logan's family were among the ſlain". A day or two after this, ſeveral Mingoes made their appearance; among whom were one or two wounded, who had in this manner effected their eſcape. Exaſperated to a high degree, after relating the particulars of this tranſaction, (which for humanity's ſake I forbear to mention,) after reſting ſome time on the treachery of the Big Knives, of their barbarity to thoſe who are their friends, they gave a figurative deſcription of the perpetrators; named Creſap as having been at the head of this murderous act. They made mention of nine being killed, and two wounded; and were prone to take revenge on any perſon of a white colour; for which reaſon the miſſionaries had to ſhut themſelves up during their ſtay. From this time terror daily

daily increaſed. The exaſperated friends and relations of theſe murdered women and children, with the nations to whom they belonged, paſſed and repaſſed through the villages of the quiet Delaware towns, in ſearch of white people, making uſe of the moſt abuſive language to theſe (the Delawares,) ſince they would not join in taking revenge. Traders had either to hide themſelves, or try to get out of the country the beſt way they could. And even, at this time, they yet found ſuch true friends among the Indians, who, at the riſk of their own lives, conducted them, with the beſt part of their property, to Pittſburg; although, (ſhameful to relate!) theſe benefactors were, on their return from this miſſion, *waylaid*, and fired upon by whites, while croſſing Big Beaver in a canoe, and had one man, a Shawaneſe, named Silverheels, (a man of note in his nation) wounded in the body. This exaſperated the Shawaneſe ſo much, that they, or at leaſt a great part of them, immediately took an active part in the cauſe; and the Mingoes, (neareſt connected with the former,) became unbounded in their rage. A Mr. Jones, ſon to a reſpectable family of this neighbourhood (Bethlehem,) who was then on his paſſage up Muſkinghum, with two other men,

was

was fortunately eſpied by a friendly Indian woman, at the falls of Muſkinghum; who through motives of humanity alone, informed Jones of the nature of the times, and that he was running right in the hands of the enraged; and put him on the way, where he might perhaps eſcape the vengeance of the ſtrolling parties. One of Jones's men, fatigued by travelling in the woods, declared he would rather die than remain longer in this ſituation; and hitting accidentally on a path, he determined to follow the ſame. A few hundred yards decided *his* fate. He was met by a party of about fifteen Mingoes, (and as it happened, almoſt within ſight of White Eyes Town,) murdered, and cut to pieces; and his limbs and fleſh ſtuck up on the buſhes. White Eyes, on hearing the Scalp Halloo, ran immediately out with his men, to ſee what the matter was; and finding the mangled body in this condition, gathered the whole and buried it. But next day, when ſome of the above party found on their return the body interred, they inſtantly tore up the ground, and endeavored to deſtroy, or ſcatter about, the parts at a greater diſtance. White Eyes, with the Delawares, watching their motions, gathered and interred the ſame a ſecond time. The war party finding this out, ran furiouſly into the

the Delaware Village, exclaiming againſt the conduct of theſe people, ſetting forth the cruelty of Creſap towards women and children, and declaring at the ſame time, that they would, in conſequence of this cruelty, ſerve every white man they ſhould meet with in the ſame manner. Times grew worſe and worſe, war parties went out and took ſcalps and priſoners, and the latter, in hopes it might be of ſervice in ſaving their lives, exclaimed againſt the barbarous act which gave riſe to theſe troubles and againſt the perpetrators. The name of Greathouſe was mentioned as having been accomplice to Creſap. So deteſtable became the latter name among the Indians, that I have frequently heard them apply it to the worſt of things; alſo in quieting or ſtilling their children, I have heard them ſay, Huſh! Creſap will fetch you; whereas otherwiſe, they name the Owl. The warriors having afterwards bent their courſe more toward the Ohio, and down the ſame, peace ſeemed with us already on the return; and this became the caſe ſoon after the decided battle fought on the Kanhaway. Traders, returning now into the Indian country again, related the ſtory of the above mentioned maſſacre, *after the ſame manner, and with the ſame words*, we have heard it related hitherto. *So* the report remained, and was believed, by all who reſided in the

the Indian country. *So* it was repreſented numbers of times, in the peaceable Delaware Towns, by the Enemy. *So* the Chriſtian Indians were continually told they would one day be ſerved. With *this* impreſſion, a petty Chief hurried all the way from Wabaſh in 1779 to take his relations (who were living with the peaceable Delawares near Coſhachking), out of the reach of the Big Knives, in whoſe friendſhip he never more would place any confidence. And when this man found that his numerous relations, would not break friendſhip with the Americans, nor be removed, he took two of his relations (women) off by force, ſaying " The whole crop ſhould not be deſtroyed ; I will have ſeed out of it for a new crop" : alluding to, and repeatingly reminding theſe of the family of Logan, who, he ſaid, had been real friends to the whites, and yet were cruelly murdered by them.

In Detroit, where I arrived the ſame ſpring, the report reſpecting the murder of the Indians on Ohio (amongſt whom was Logan's family) was the ſame as related above ; and on my return to the United States in the fall of 1786, and from that time, whenever and wherever in my preſence, this ſubject was the topic of converſation, I found the report ſtill the ſame ; *viz.* that a perſon, bearing the name of Creſap, was the author, or perpetrator of this deed.

LOGAN was the second son of SHIKELLEMUS, a celebrated chief of the Cayuga nation. This chief, on account of his attachment to the English government, was of great service to the country, having the confidence of all the Six Nations, as well as that of the English, he was very useful in settling disputes, &c. &c. He was highly esteemed by Conrad Weiser, Esq. (an officer for government in the Indian department,) with whom he acted conjunctly, and was faithful unto his death. His residence was at Shamokin, where he took great delight in acts of hospitality to such of the white people whose business led them that way.* His name and fame were so high on record, that count Zinzendorf, when in this country in 1742, became desirous of seeing him, and actually visited him at his house in Shamokin.† About the year 1772, Logan was introduced to me, by an Indian friend; as son to the late reputable chief Shikellemus, and as a friend to the white people. In the course of conversation, I thought him a man of superior talents, than Indians generally were. The subject turning on vice and immorality, he confessed his too great share of this, especially his fondness for liquor. He exclaimed against the white people, for imposing liquors

* The preceding account of Shikellemus, (Logan's father) is copied from manuscripts of the Rev. C. Pyrlœus, written between the years 1741, and 1748.

† See G. H. Hoskiel's history of the Mission of the United Brethren, &c. Part II, Chap. II, Page 31.

quors upon the Indians; he otherwiſe admired their ingenuity; ſpoke of gentlemen, but obſerved the Indians unfortunately had but few of theſe as their neighbours, &c. He ſpoke of his friendſhip to the white people, wiſhed always to be a neighbour to them, intended to ſettle on the Ohio, below Big Beaver; was (to the beſt of my recollection) then encamped at the mouth of this river, (Beaver,) urged me to pay him a viſit, &c. *Note.* I was then living at the Moravian Town on this River, in the neighbourhood of Cuſkuſkee. In April 1773, while on my paſſage down the Ohio for Muſkinghum, I called at Logan's ſettlement; where I received every civility I could expect from ſuch of the family as were at home.

Indian reports concerning Logan, after the death of his family, ran to this; that he exerted himſelf during the Shawnee war, (then ſo called) to take all the revenge he could, declaring he had loſt all confidence in the white people. At the time of negociation, he declared his reluctance in laying down the hatchet, not having (in his opinion) yet taken ample ſatisfaction; yet, for the ſake of the nation, he would do it. His expreſſions, from time to time, denoted a deep melancholy. Life (ſaid he) had become a torment to him: He knew no more what pleaſure was: He thought it had been better if he had never exiſted, &c. &c. Report further ſtates, that he became in ſome meaſure

ſure delirious, declared he would kill himſelf, went to Detroit, drank very freely, and did not ſeem to care what he did, and what became of himſelf. In this condition he left Detroit, and, on his way between that place and Miami, was murdered. In October 1781, (while as priſoner on my way to Detroit,) I was ſhown the ſpot where this ſhall have happened. Having had an opportunity ſince laſt June of ſeeing the Rev. David Zeiſberger, ſenior, miſſionary to the Delaware nation of Indians, who had reſided among the ſame on Muſkingum, at the time when the murder was committed on the family of Logan, I put the following queſtions to him. 1. Who he had underſtood it was that had committed the murder on Logan's family? And ſecondly, whether he had any knowledge of a ſpeech ſent to lord Dunmore by Logan, in conſequence of this affair, &c. To which Mr. Zeiſberger's anſwer was: That he had, from that time when this murder was comitted to the preſent day, firmly believed the common report (which he had never heard contradicted) *viz.* that one Creſap was the author of the maſſacre; or that it was committed by his orders: and that he had known Logan as a boy, had frequently ſeen him from that time, and doubted not in the leaſt, that Logan had ſent ſuch a ſpeech to Lord Dunmore on this occaſion, as he underſtood from me had been publiſhed; that expreſſions of that kind from Indians were familiar to him; that Logan in particular,

was

was a man of quick comprehenſion, good judgment and talents. Mr. Zeiſberger has been a miſſionary upwards of fifty years; his age is about eighty; ſpeaks both the language of the Onondagoes and the Delawares; reſides at preſent on the Muſkingum, with his Indian congregation; and is beloved and reſpected by all who are acquainted with him.

JOHN HECKEWELDER.

From this teſtimony the following hiſtorical ſtatement reſults:

In April or May 1774, a number of people being engaged in looking out for ſettlements on the Ohio, information was ſpread among them, that the Indians had robbed ſome of the *land-jobbers*, as thoſe adventurers were called. Alarmed for their ſafety, they collected together at Wheeling-creek. Hearing there that there were two Indians and ſome traders a little above Wheeling, Captain Michael Creſap, one of the party, propoſed to waylay and kill them. The propoſition, though oppoſed, was adopted. A party went up the river, with Creſap at their head, and killed the two Indians.

1ſt murder of the two Indians by Creſap.

The ſame afternoon it was reported that there was a party of Indians on the Ohio, a little below Wheeling. Creſap and his party immediately proceeded down the river, and encamped on the bank. The Indians paſſed him peaceably, and

2d murder on Grave creek.

encamped

encamped at the mouth of Grave creek, a little below. Crefap and his party attacked them, and killed feveral. The Indians returned the fire, and wounded one of Crefap's party. Among the flain of the Indians were fome of Logan's family. Colonel Zane indeed expreffes a doubt of it; but it is affirmed by Huflon and Chambers. Smith, one of the murderers, faid they were known and acknowledged to be Logan's friends, and the party themfelves generally faid fo; boafted of it in prefence of Crefap; pretended no provocation; and expreffed their expectations that Logan would probably avenge their deaths.

Maffacre at Baker's Bottom oppofite Yellow Creek, by Greathoufe.

Purfuing thefe examples, Daniel Great-houfe and one Tomlinfon, who lived on the oppofite fide of the river from the Indians, and were in habits of friendfhip with them, collected at the houfe of Polke on Crofs creek, about 16 miles from Baker's Bottom a party of 32 men. Their object was to attack a hunting encampment of Indians, confifting of men, women and children, at the mouth of Yellow creek, fome diftance above Wheeling.---They proceeded, and when arrived near Baker's Bottom, they concealed themfelves, and Greathoufe croffed the river to the Indian camp. Being among them as a friend he counted them, and found them too ftrong for an open attack with his force. While here, he was cautioned by one of the women not to ftay, for that the Indian men were drinking, and having heard of Crefap's murder

der of *their relations* at Grave creek, were angry, and ſhe preſſed him, in a friendly manner, to go home; whereupon, after inviting them to come over and drink, he returned to Baker's, which was a tavern, and deſired that when any of them ſhould come to his houſe he would give them as much rum as they would drink. When his plot was ripe and a ſufficient number of them were collected at Baker's, and intoxicated, he and his party fell on them and maſſacred the whole, except a little girl, whom they preſerved as a priſoner. Among theſe was the very woman who had ſaved his life, by preſſing him to retire from the drunken wrath of her friends, when he was ſpying their camp at Yellow creek. Either ſhe herſelf, or ſome other of the murdered women, was the ſiſter of Logan, very big with child, and inhumanly and indecently butchered; and there were others of his relations who fell here.

4th murder by Great-houſe.

The party on the other ſide of the river, alarmed for their friends at Baker's, on hearing the report of the guns, manned two canoes and ſent them over. They were received, as they approached the ſhore, by a well directed fire from Great-houſe's party, which killed ſome, wounded others, and obliged the reſt to put back. Baker tells us there were twelve killed, and ſix or eight wounded.

This commenced the war, of which Logan's war-

war-club and note left in the house of a murdered family, was the notification. In the course of it, during the ensuing summer, great numbers of innocent men, women and children, fell victims to the tomahawk and scalping knife of the Indians, till it was arrested in the autumn following by the battle at Point-Pleasant and the pacification with Lord Dunmore, at which the speech of Logan was delivered.

Of the genuineness of that speech nothing need be said. It was known to the camp where it was delivered; it was given out by Lord Dunmore and his officers; it ran through the public papers of these states; was rehearsed as an exercise at schools; published in the papers and periodical works of Europe; and all this, a dozen years before it was copied into the notes on Virginia. In fine, gen. Gibson concludes the question for ever, by declaring that he received it from Logan's hand, delivered it to Lord Dunmore, translated it for him, and that the copy in the notes on Virginia is a faithful copy.

The popular account of these transactions, as stated in the notes on Virginia, appears, on collecting exact information, imperfect and erroneous in its details. It was the belief of the day; but how far its errors were to the prejudice of Cresap, the reader will now judge. That he, and those under him, murdered two Indians above Wheeling; that they murdered a larger number at Grave-creek,

creek, among whom were a part of the family and relations of Logan, cannot be queſtioned; and as little that this led to the maſſacre of the reſt of the family at Yellow creek. Logan imputed the whole to Creſap in his war-note and peace-ſpeech: the Indians generally imputed it to Creſap: Lord Dunmore and his officers imputed it to Creſap: the country, with one accord, imputed it to him: and whether he were innocent, let the univerſal verdict now declare.

I propoſe that in any future edition of the Notes on Virginia, the paſſage relating to this ſubject ſhall ſtand in the following form:

'In the ſpring of the year 1774, a robbery was committed by ſome Indians on certain land-adventurers on the river Ohio. The whites in that quarter, according to their cuſtom, undertook to puniſh this outrage in a ſummary way. Captain Michael Creſap, and a certain Daniel Great-houſe, leading on theſe parties, ſurprized, at different times, travelling and hunting parties of the Indians, having their women and children with them, and murdered many. Among theſe were unfortunately the family of Logan, a chief celebrated in peace and war, and long diſtinguiſhed as the friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly

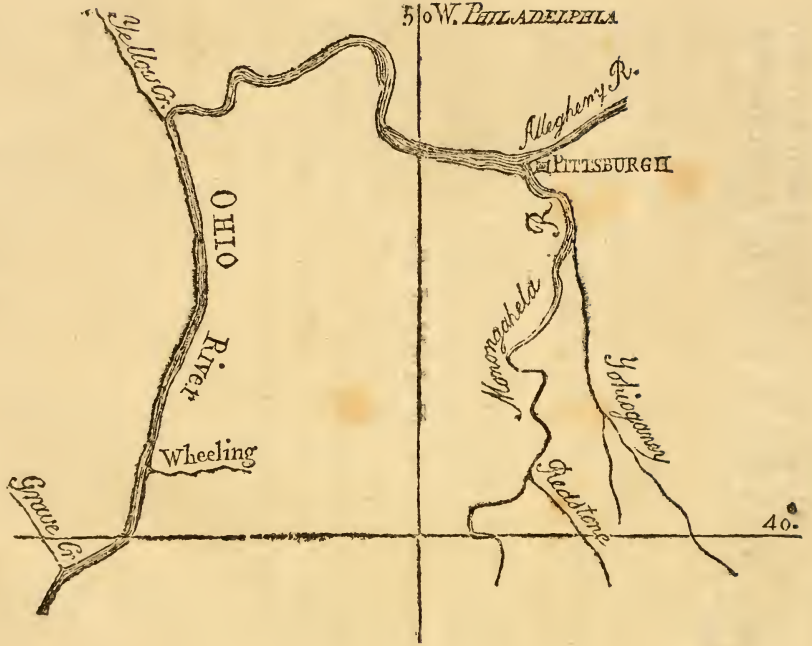
ſignalized himſelf in the war which enſued. In the autumn of the ſame year a deciſive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the collected forces of the Shawaneſe, Mingoes and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated and ſued for peace. Logan, however, diſdained to be ſeen among the ſuppliants. But leſt the ſincerity of a treaty ſhould be diſtruſted, from which ſo diſtinguiſhed a chief abſented himſelf, he ſent, by a meſſenger, the following ſpeech, to be delivered to Lord Dunmore.

" I appeal to any white man to ſay, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat: if ever he came cold and naked, and he cloathed him not. During the courſe of the laſt long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they paſſed, and ſaid, ' Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Creſap, the laſt ſpring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even ſparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge.

I have

I have fought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance: for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one."

FINIS.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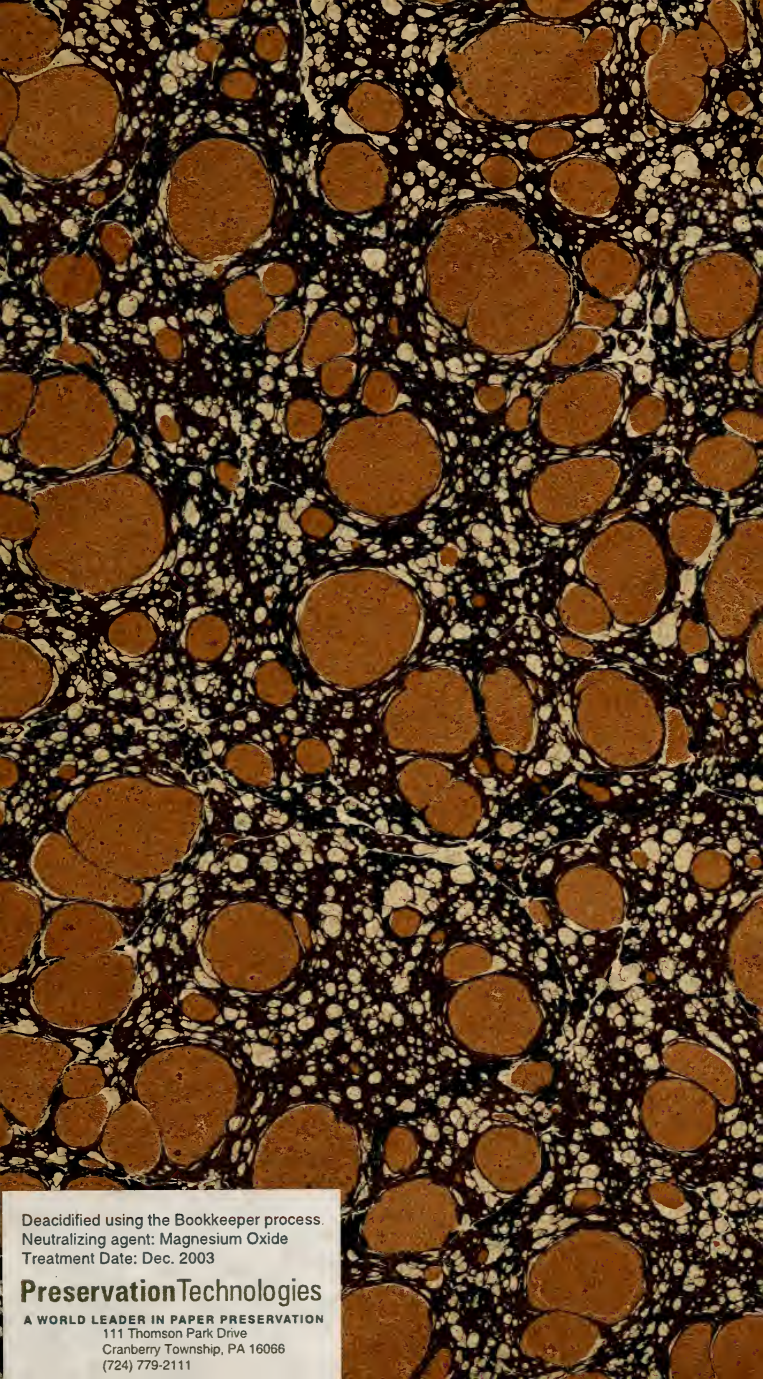

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